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ABSTRACT

Drawings of men by black boys, collected Spring 1969 at two junior high schools--one with a Black is Beautiful (BB) program, found twice as many (34 percent) black men drawn in BB school. Of 186 total drawings, 24 percent were unmistakably black, 263 "You" and "They" forms of the Choose-a-Man task being completed in the two schools along with 100 from North Carolina. Students themselves ("You") overwhelmingly hired black store managers from four photographs, varying from Caucasian to Negroid. BB program students thought the store ("They") would select a black manager; non-program and North Carolina students thought a non-black would as frequently become manager. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of the original document.] (Author/RJ)

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INFLUENCE OF BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL PROGRAM ON BLACK ADOLESCENTS' DRAWINGS AND HIGH STATUS JOB SELECTIONS*

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Abstract

Influence of Black is Beautiful Program on Black Adolescents' Drawings and High Status Job Selections

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Drawings of men by black boys, collected Spring 1969 at two junior high schools—one with a Black is Beautiful (BB) program, found twice as many (34%) black men drawn in BB school. Of 186 total drawings, 24% were unmistakably black. 263 You and They forms of the Choose-a-Man task were completed in the two schools along with 100 from North Carolina. Students themselves (You) overwhelmingly hired black store managers from four photographs, varying from Caucasian to Negroid. BB program students thought the store (They) would select a black manager; non-program and North Carolina students thought a non-black would as frequently become manager.

INFLUENCE OF BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL PROGRAM ON BLACK ADOLESCENTS' DRAWINGS AND HIGH STATUS JOB SELECTIONS[1]

Racial identification is an integral part of the black child's development of his self-image. The extent to which he accepts his own skin color and his racial group membership is clearly related to the prevalence of positive feelings he has toward himself and his group. Since the early work of Clark and Clark (1940), many investigations have reported the often negative attitudes of black children toward their own skin color and group membership. The literature in this area is particularly well reviewed by Proshansky and Newton in "The Nature and Meaning of Negro Self-Identity" (1968). In general, the studies suggested that the black child who feels disdain for his own racial group also feels it for himself; when the self-image is embedded in and structured by self-rejection, there are negative effects on the child's behavior and experience. When the self-image is bouyed by positive references with regard to one's group, the child may express an improved self-image and a change in attitudes.

In order to ascertain the racial attitudes of young people, most studies have used projective techniques such as pictures, drawings, objects, stories, and dolls. A child's own drawings project a great deal about his own racial attitudes (Coles, 1964; Goodman, 1964; Koppitz, 1968). In 1962, Dennis collected and analyzed 2550 drawings made by eleven, twelve, and thirteen year old boys. In his cross-cultural study he proposed that children reveal their aspirations and their attitudes in their drawings of a man. The man a child draws is not one with whom he is merely familiar, but one toward whom the

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[1]This article is based on the author's research project, completed for a course instructed by Professor Miriam Goldberg, Teachers College.

child and the society hold favorable attitudes. In essence, Dennis believed that the kind of man a child portrays is controlled to a large extent by his perception of group values; that is, those values his society as a whole espouses.

Dennis (1966) found that 84% of Chinese boys drew men with Oriental features, 100% of Japanese drew men with Japanese features, and 100% of Cambodian boys drew Cambodians. All Caucasian drawings were of Caucasians. However, American Negro children did not draw black men; they too drew Caucasian men. Even in Black Africa, as well, most of the Sudanese village drawings represented white men. In addition to his cross-cultural study, Dennis examined more than a thousand drawings made by American Negroes, and every one was judged to be unmistakenly white.

Dennis ascertained that black children could draw men with Negroid characteristics when asked to do so by darkening the skin and changing the facial features and nature of the hair. With this in mind, Dennis concluded in his 1962 study that the white men the Negro children drew were the appearance that they would like to possess. Further, he noted "Were Negro children today to possess pride in their own heritage, we assume that they would draw Negroes."[2]

Recently, studies of spontaneous figure drawings have noted some positive figures with Negroid features (Coles, 1970; Koppitz, 1968). The positive black drawings found by Coles and Koppitz may mark the beginning of the internalization of the black revolution's insistence that the Negro cease trying to make himself white (Kvaraceus, Gibson, Patterson, Seasholes & Grambs, 1965). This demand may currently be reinforced by the emphasis on Afro-American culture and black studies

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[2]Wayne Dennis, Group Values Through Children's Drawings. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966, p. 74.

in mass media, advertising, and curricula which concomitantly may be sources for positive racial identification and attitudes.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influence of a Black is Beautiful program as a resource for developing positive black identification. If Black is Beautiful (BB) programs are influencing the black child's sense of self, his self-perceptions should be projected in his drawings of a man and in his perception of his racial group's ability to attain societally accepted positions.

It was hypothesized that 1) black boys in 1969 would draw more pictures of black men, reflecting negroid features in face, hair, or dress, than in 1962; 2) boys in a Black is Beautiful program would draw black men more frequently than boys not engaged in a program; 3) black students in a Black is Beautiful program would more often choose a black man for a high status position than non-program students.

Method and Procedure

In Spring 1969, 222 seventh and eighth grade boys in two Brooklyn schools participated in the Draw-a-Man (DM) task, and 263 boys and girls from the two schools did the Choose-a-Man (CM) task. In both schools about 85% of the subjects were black, the remainder Spanish-speaking. A third group of 100 black eleventh and twelfth graders from Durham, North Carolina, responded to CM.

The two schools were distinguished on several counts. The school with a BB program, had a black principal, a predominately black administration, a racially mixed staff. The BB program involved a black culture orientation in social studies and literature, student produced assemblies of African dance, fashion, music, and special black personalities. Constantly changing bulletin boards displayed a multitude of Black is Beautiful themes.

The second school (designated non-BB) was in an adjacent community, was without a BB program, had a white principal, a largely white administration, a racially mixed staff. By school policy no assembly programs were allowed. Bulletin boards (white faces eating balanced diets) remained unchanged since investigator taught there in 1966.

The first phase of the study involved DM, executed in regular art classes by the students' own black male art teachers. The second phase was the CM, specifically developed for this study. It required the student to determine his choices for a store's manager, cashier, and delivery man from among four men whose skin color and facial physiognomy ranged from Caucasian to Negroid. The You form (Appendix A) ascertained whom the student himself would hire; the They form (Appendix B), whome he thought the store would hire.

Four judges, two black, determined independently whether the drawn man was black, white, or a character (such as Batman or a Martian). Drawings designated black by at least three judges were then considered drawings of black men, and these drawings were then compared with the non-black drawings. The percentage of black drawings by students in the BB program were compared with the percentage of black drawings by non-program students.

The CM was analyzed by forms on the basis of black or non-black selections for each position, according to schools (program vs. non-program) and ethnic background. A black choice included the tan or black man, numbers "1" or "3"; a non-black designation was for the white blond- or dark-haired man, numbers "2" or "4." The analysis of cashier and delivery man and most of the Spanish-speaking students' data will not be included in this paper.

All data were subjected to a Chi-square test for statistical significance.

Results and Discussion

Draw-a-Man

Black children in 1969 drew 24.19% black men compared to Dennis' zero-base-line data, 1962. Thus, the first hypothesis is supported, even if only by one-quarter of the subjects.

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Insert Table 1 here

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On a percentage basis, twice as many (34.18%) black men were drawn by boys at the school with the BB program as at the non-program school (16.82%). Significantly more (χ^2=7.469, df=1, $p<.01$) BB program boys drew black men than boys in non-BB, and, therefore, the second hypothesis is supported. Even where there was a strong emphasis on Black is Beautiful, only about a third of the boys drew black men. This did occur, however, after only one semester of the program and did represent significantly more black drawings than in the other school or in Dennis' study.

Other DM observations included the following: (a) of 45 black men drawn by the black participants, only nine had darkened face or body skin; the others were identified by facial features, hair, and/or dress; (b) many other drawings featured uniforms, costumes, and adornments--- barbells, guns, knives, cigarettes; (c) of 36 Spanish-speaking students' drawings not one had negroid features.

It appears from the 222 drawings that boys did draw men who represented for them positive or negative group values, and that the BB program did influence the drawings of some students.

Choose-a-Man

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Insert Table 2 here

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When students did the hiring (You), the proportion of black managers in each group was high (BB=81%, non-BB=73%), but the difference between the proportions selected at the two Brooklyn schools is not statistically significant (see Table 2). Proportions on the They form, as well, indicated that BB students thought the store would choose a black manager more often than non-BB students (BB=70%, non-BB=53%), but the difference is also not statistically significant. Thus, the third hypothesis, that the BB program would influence the high status job selection, is not confirmed.

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Insert Table 3 here

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In order to compare the two CM forms, the 112 You forms and the 99 They form responses were combined across the two Brooklyn schools. As Table 3 indicates, of the total 211 black Brooklyn CM, significantly more respondents chose a black manager on the You form than on the They form (χ^2=7.219, df=1, $p < .01$). Therefore, the statistical significance occurs according to who did the hiring, the student himself or the store, and not according to whether the student was in a BB program.

In comparing within school responses on the two CM forms, the proportion of black managers chosen by non-program students themselves (You) is significantly greater (χ^2=5.559, df=1, $p < .025$) than the proportion selected by the store (They). To non-program students exactly who did

the hiring makes a difference. If the student himself did, a black manager would most frequently be hired; if the store did, a black man had less chance of being selected.

While at the school with the program, regardless of who did the hiring, at least three of four managers would be black. This high proportion of black managers may further indicate BB program influence and its heightening of the feeling of societal acceptance of black group members in managerial positions.

In the North Carolina sample, 58% of the students chose a black manager when they did the hiring, while the exact reverse percentage was true on the They form (see Table 2).

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Insert Table 4 here

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Table 4 indicates that black students, in all cases, selected a black manager significantly more often ($\chi^2=4.48$, df=1, $p<.05$) than did Spanish-speaking students. Finally, all black students from the two Brooklyn schools who drew black men chose black managers on the You form of CM.

Positive racial identification appears to be influenced by BB programs, but it is difficult to attest to the extent of that influence when the mass media approach is also changing. Henceforth, measuring specific interventions will be complicated, but the reflection of a more positive racial self-image should be evidenced as self and societal attitudes change.

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Table 1

Number and Percentages of Black Men Drawn by Students in BB Program and Non-Program

School	Drawings N Black	Drawings N Non-Black	Percentage Black
BB	27	52	34.18*
Non-BB	18	89	16.82*
Total	45	141	24.19

*$p < .01$

Table 2

Number and Percentage of Black Managers on You and They Forms of Choose-a-Man Total Black Student Responses

Form	School	Black N	Non-Black N	Percentage Black
You	BB	39	9	81.25
	Non-BB	47	17	73.44
	N.C.	29	21	58.00
They	BB	26	11	70.27
	N on-BB	33	29	53.23
	N.C.	21	29	42.00

Table 3

Number and Percentage of Black Managers on Combined You and They Forms of Choose-a-Man from Two Brooklyn Schools

Form	Manager N Black	N Non-Black	Percentage Black
You	86	26	77*
They	59	40	60*
Total	145	66	

*p <.01

Table 4

Number and Percentage of Black Managers
on You Form of Choose-a-Man
for Black and Spanish Brooklyn Students

Ethnic Group	Manager N Black	N Non-Black	Percentage Black
Black	86	26	77*
Spanish	14	11	56*
Total	100	37	

*p < .05

APPENDIX A

1

2

3

4

A new super market is opening. You have been asked to hire men to fill the job openings. The store needs a manager who will make $175 per week, a cashier who will make $100 per week, and a delivery man who will make $80 per week. Who would you hire for each job after interviewing the four men pictured above?

I would hire number

____ as manager.

____ as cashier.

____ as delivery man.

Your name _____

APPENDIX B

1

2

3

4

A new super market is opening. The store needs a manager who will make $175 per week, a cashier who will make $100 per week, and a delivery man who will make $80 per week. The four men pictured above are interviewed for the jobs. Who do you think would be hired by the store

____ as manager?
____ as cashier?
____ as delivery man?

Your name, _____